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ABSTRACT

In civic journalism classes, students set aside the philosophy of "objectivity" that rules traditional journalism in order to develop closer relationships with community residents and understand their needs. Thus, civic journalism lends itself well to introductory service-learning courses. But students from privileged backgrounds often find their first encounters with communities challenging. They may not interact respectfully or comfortably with people whom they see as "different" by virtue of race or class; at best they may be curious but detached. How can journalism educators prepare students for more meaningful communication with community members that results in mutually beneficial service experiences and long-term commitment to social change? This paper explores these questions using qualitative data from two service-learning classes in journalism. Findings suggest that these classes can be powerful tools for sensitizing white middle class students to the realities of social inequality in America. (Contains 18 references.) (Author/RS)

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Tourists in the Land of Service-Learning: Helping Middle-Class Students Move from Curiosity to Commitment

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Tourists in the Land of Service-Learning: Helping Middle-Class Students Move from Curiosity to Commitment

ABSTRACT

In civic journalism classes, students set aside the philosophy of "objectivity" that rules traditional journalism in order to develop closer relationships with community residents and understand their needs. Thus, civic journalism lends itself well to introductory service-learning courses. But students from privileged backgrounds often find their first encounters with communities challenging. They may not interact respectfully or comfortably with people whom they see as "different" by virtue of race or class; at best they may be curious but detached. How can we prepare our students for more meaningful communication with community members that results in mutually beneficial service experiences and long-term commitment to social change? This paper explores these questions using qualitative data from two service-learning classes in journalism.

Introduction

Service-learning is a pedagogy that combines traditional course work with community service. Advocates of this approach say that it prepares students for citizenship and allows them to test academic concepts through real-world experience. In service-learning courses, students may work with people in charitable organizations, health care facilities, youth groups, nursing homes, public interest groups and so on. They may perform environmental research, tutoring, nutritional analysis, oral history, voter education, community journalism, or many other forms of service.

In recent years communication educators have become very interested in service-learning because the method offers dynamic ways to develop communication competencies and understandings of public life in our students. T.K. Stanton (1990) notes the importance of service-learning in enhancing affective competencies such as "interpersonal skills, sensitivity to others, and active engagement with responsibilities having consequences for others" (p. 350). At its best, the method enhances the development of relational and organizational skills as well as a taste for civic engagement. It can help young people appreciate the perspectives of people who are different from themselves. Thus many communication educators have developed service-learning components to courses in public relations, organization communication, journalism, and so on.

In civic journalism classes, students learn about community life by interacting with people from all walks of life and all ethnic backgrounds. They set aside the distancing philosophy of "objectivity" that shapes traditional journalism practices in order to develop closer relationships with community residents and understand their needs better. When civic journalism students write stories that serve the information needs of under-resourced communities and help generate problem-solving dialogue, they are also performing community service. Therefore the topic lends itself well to structuring as an introductory service-learning course.

However, some undergraduates may not be prepared for these experiences. First encounters seem challenging for certain students from backgrounds privileged by race or income. These students may not interact respectfully or productively with people whom they see as "different" by virtue of race, class, or other reasons. They may be curious about differences between themselves and others, but not understanding or appreciative of these differences. In reflection about such encounters, they may express confusion, suspicion or superiority. When the assigned encounters end, they may feel little interest in following up with more involved community participation.

Students' first encounters in service-learning are an important site of inquiry for educators and scholars of service-learning. Like a canary in a coal mine, these introductions to community relationships raise awareness and can sometimes warn of problems ahead. Problematic first reactions may spring from

a particular student's ignorance or personal bias. But they may also be responses to the implicit distinctions of inequality acted out on an institutional level by a university and community agencies. What sense are our students making of their encounters with community residents? What kinds of messages are we sending about the communities we want our students to serve? What impression of our students do these communities receive? How can we prepare our students for more meaningful and mutually beneficial service experiences?

If we want to encourage students to become engaged citizens of communities and not just tourists in the land of service-learning, then we need to find answers to these questions. This study explores these issues through qualitative data from two undergraduate Civic Journalism classes I have taught using the service-learning approach.

Learning to serve the community

Derived from the experiential education theories of John Dewey and pioneered in the 1960s and '70s as a learning model, service-learning is now used around the country in elementary and secondary schools and in many institutions of higher education. Practitioners see the method serving a number of different functions in addition to the basic mission of experiential learning: it is valued as a way to build community connections, to introduce students to public service careers, and to change traditional classroom dynamics.

Parker Palmer (1990) asserts that service-learning builds community by emphasizing "those ways of knowing that form an inward capacity for relatedness within individuals" (p. 111). Service-learning students are able to witness (some for the first time) the need for their skills and the value of their engagement in the world around them. C. K. Della-Piana (1996) saw her students becoming empowered by learning to work with others "who did not have the same values, beliefs, and concerns, yet [who] had a commitment to community service and the passion to make a difference" (p. 9). In successful service-learning projects and programs, E. Novek (1999) argues, educators and students engage in ongoing dialogue with public groups and agencies, leaders, organizers, parents, activists and citizens, becoming "part of a community which consensually constructs and shares knowledge" (p. 231).

Service-learning can provide hands-on career orientation. K. Krupar (1994) asserts that the experience of actual workplace conditions involved in service-learning allows students to decide whether they want to pursue a career in a particular field before they enter it: "This is a chance to specifically experience 'reality' before having to compete for a job" (p. 2). A study by the William T. Grant Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship (1988) observes that the experience of group service projects in school provides job-readiness skills for the collaborative working conditions many students will encounter later in the workplace. While careerism is not the primary motive for service-learning, proponents often stress the occupational benefits of the experience.

Service-learning is also viewed as a way to reform the traditional top-down hierarchy of the classroom. Instructors and students forsake their traditional power relations, Krupar (1994) notes, and develop a collegial sharing of power, accountability and tasks: "This pedagogy requires that students become profoundly and actively involved in their own learning, that they discover for themselves rather than accept verbal and written pronouncements, that they learn to map uncharted territories and that they find themselves through the processes of trial and error" (p. 3). Students must examine their own preconceptions, Chris Bachen (1994) asserts, "as they come into contact with different sources and perspectives that don't echo conventional wisdom" (p. 6). Rather than telling students *what* to think and do, service learning educators generate discussion about *how* and *why*. They provide students opportunities for structured reflection about the complexities and contradictions of their social worlds.

In addition to its other applications, some also see service-learning as a powerful tool for social justice. Much of the method's current popularity is based on the perception that traditional educational strategies do not sufficiently engage young people in the world around them. Certainly it is true that conventional teaching styles rarely encourage students to take part in problem-solving within their own communities. Ernest Boyer (1990) observes that it is possible for American youth to finish high school "without ever being asked to participate in life in or out of the school -- never encouraged to spend time with

lonely older people, help a child who has not learned to read, clean up litter on the street, or even do something meaningful at the school itself" (p. 100). The lack of early engagement translates directly into a lack of participation later on; as they mature into young adulthood, H. Giroux (1981) argues, few adolescents see themselves as citizens or agents of change.

Advocates hope that service-learning can reverse this trend by promoting a spirit of community participation and a deepening personal commitment to social responsibility. Boyer (1990) posits that the approach helps young people understand "that they are not only autonomous individuals but also members of a larger community to which they are accountable" (p. 100). Harkavy & Puckett (1994) argue that academically based community service supports "the promotion of civic consciousness, value-oriented thinking and a moral approach to issues of public concern" among undergraduates (p. 300). Community service can broaden the experience of students, "potentially stimulating in them passionate reactions to social injustice and a commitment to work for change" (Stanton, 1990, p. 344). Bachen (1994) says that the experience of service-learning may lead students to "a deeper understanding of the human condition, including the structural factors that reinforce poverty and prejudice . . . (and) to the development of a lifelong commitment to working for equality and justice" (p. 4).

The goals of service-learning described here are worthy and designed with liberatory intent. But some critics question the politics and ethics of the

paternalistic, "feel-good" benevolence sometimes associated with service efforts. Ivan Illich (1990) argues that well-meaning middle-class American students are often filled with a missionary zeal which is self-serving, insulting, and sometimes even dangerous to the people they hope to aid. He cautions, "It is profoundly damaging to yourselves when you define something that you want to do as 'good,' a 'sacrifice,' and 'help'" (p. 320). R. L. Sigmon (1990) also points to the "self-deception" of educators and students who believe that they are serving a community when they are mainly serving the interests of their own egos: "We spread around our talents and knowledge because we have it to use and enjoy sharing . . . We advocate for the poor, young, elderly, and minorities because we want to serve, without realizing that they may not be impressed" (p. 62).

Those who teach service-learning classes often raise questions about their students' actual ability to serve. Faculty may wonder if students fully understand what they are seeing and doing in community work, especially in one-semester efforts that do not build ongoing relationships between students and the communities they visit. "What are the implications of middle-class young adults going out to 'serve' people of different classes, abilities, ethnicities and ages?" asks Tasha Souza (1999). "Do students come to recognize the complex dynamics of power, race, class and gender during their service experience or their later reflections? What are the ethical considerations that attend such brief encounters?" (p. 84).

These issues may be especially acute when the campus is not situated in the heart of its service community, but at some remove. Bachen (1999) observes that students may be "uncomfortable with the idea of going into an unfamiliar environment and may bring fears or even prejudices" (p. 19) with them into the service setting. Furthermore, they may not develop a lasting commitment to the communities "discovered" in this manner. After students leave campus to encounter a situation they could not encounter at the university, Bachen (1999) notes, "they return to the university, a safe and comfortable place, to process and make sense of the experience. . . their own location is never truly challenged" (p. 20).

These questions do not lessen the value of an important and socially relevant pedagogy, but they do suggest the importance of listening and responding to what students are telling us about their service-learning encounters. The barriers of race and class so rarely addressed in traditional educational models in the U.S. do not simply drop away because of our good intentions. However, service-learning offers educators an opportunity to address these barriers.

This paper presents data from student reflections gathered in 1998 and 1999 from service-learning classes taught in the communication department of a small private university. It offers thick description of the impressions of university students as service-learning classes bring them into contact with people of different racial, cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds -- some for

the first time in their lives. I believe that the data will provide journalism educators and service-learning practitioners alike food for thought about our need to recognize and overcome the barriers that exist between the university and the community. Such reflection can help us guide our students better through their introduction to service-learning, and can also transform the superficial encounters of introductory service-learning experiences into meaningful, lasting relationships with our neighbors.

Methodology

The research was conducted at a small private liberal arts university in a mid-Atlantic state with about 5,500 students. The university operates in a well-to-do suburban community in the midst of an economically diverse region, with enclaves of great wealth and poverty existing, in some cases, literally next door to each other. Students attending the university tend to be of middle-class or more privileged backgrounds, and the prevailing majority is White. The school's commuter parking lots are filled with BMW's and sport utility vehicles that pull in ten minutes before class and roar out again, headed for other wealthy suburban neighborhoods, ten minutes after. Residential students may eat in the campus dining halls, drink at the campus pub, spend money at the campus bookstore and spend four years on the tree-shaded campus without even visiting the diverse communities surrounding the university or interacting with their residents.

In recent years the university has worked to establish connections to agencies and institutions in these neighboring communities, but the ties have been sporadic at best. Numerous local institutions and non-profit agencies regularly make requests for student interns and volunteers, but many of these requests go unmet. Students prefer paid career opportunities in larger urban centers or more glamorous internships with television networks, fashion design houses or Wall Street. To many of its neighbors, the university remains an ivory tower, its manicured lawns a symbol of resources and opportunities not shared.

The university adopted an experiential education requirement in 1997. This rule mandated that all undergraduates complete a practicum, an internship, a co-operative work assignment, a fieldwork class or a service-learning class before graduation. The disciplines of social work, education, and nursing offer numerous fieldwork classes, but to date only a handful of faculty in other fields have developed service-learning classes that incorporate discipline-specific community service. When these classes are offered, some students enroll out of a genuine desire to perform community service, while others do so simply to meet the graduation requirement.

In 1988 and 1999 the author of this paper taught an undergraduate class in Civic Journalism, using the service-learning model. In this class, students research and publicize important community problems, working closely with community residents and agencies throughout the semester and sharing the results of their research. Their goal is to bring diverse, often marginalized

community voices together and to help stimulate community dialogue to solve local problems. Students in this class are also asked to write journals reflecting on their experiences each week of the semester.

This paper is based on qualitative data from two sets of reflective journals written by the author's Civic Journalism classes in 1998 and 1999. The writings of 37 students are considered here. All students' work is quoted here directly but anonymously. Where necessary, I offer context for the students' remarks, but have tried to let the students' own observations speak for themselves.

Encountering the "real world"

Civic journalism is a form of reporting that has been defined as news making that creates a "support system for public life." In some forms of service-learning, students are placed to work at various community organizations; but in a civic journalism class, students perform service by identifying community concerns and gathering and disseminating information about these issues in an effort to generate public discussion and problem-solving attention.

Publicly oriented news making encourages students to gain a greater appreciation of community relationships. Supported by a directed curriculum and classroom reflection, the student journalists go out into local neighborhoods by themselves and in small teams to observe the social, economic and political realities of daily life. The students focus on concerns affecting the people around them, learning how to understand these issues and present them to a diverse

audience of readers. Their ultimate goal is to bring residents, community agencies and institutions together to stimulate public discussion and solve local problems. Finally, they reflect on the processes of community information gathering and assess the benefit of their news reports to their audiences.

At the beginning of each semester, speakers from community agencies came to the class to talk about local conditions and problems to prepare the students to leave the campus to investigate in more depth. The visitors talked about poverty in the communities near the university, the local impact of AIDS, the needs of urban children, and other topics. For some students, even these classroom conversations were eye-opening. They began to think about the contrast between their own comfortable living conditions and those of people who lived nearby, but in entirely different worlds.

> Sometimes I think many of us take the things we have for granted. I am definitely one of those people. Right now, I am thinking of all the things I have and how my life would be different without them. My TV, I can't imagine going one day without watching at least three hours of it. My clothes, health, three meals a day, shelter. Just think, many people are just worrying about paying the month's rent, and my biggest worry is whether Sports Center is on at 11:00 or 12:00.

One speaker told the class about a woman who had become homeless and was struggling to keep her job at a Chick-Fil-A fast-food concession in the local shopping mall while trying to get treatment for her child, a cancer patient. After her visit, a student wrote, "It's weird that I work in the mall and go to Chick-Fil-A almost every time I work. One would never know that the people there are

hard up just by looking at them. I wasn't aware that the problem was so widespread. It scares me when I think about my naiveté."

Other students were suspicious of the poor and were not inclined to believe the reports of community human service workers. How, they wanted to know, could anyone distinguish between the "truly needy" and those who were merely "lazy" and coming for a handout? How did service agencies and community volunteer groups keep from being ripped off? many of them asked. Wrote one student:

> We are students at a twenty thousand plus dollar school. Most of us have cars, and some of us have off-campus apartments. We don't really see poverty up close and personal. What we see mainly is television. Mostly what we get to see is news stories about scandals with people embezzling and cheating. We think there are greedy people out there who will try to get a handout whenever possible.

The two perspectives of privilege and suspicion would follow many of the students as they began their work in nearby communities.

The civic journalism students were assigned to develop news stories about particular community problems that interested them. Some students worked alone, while others formed pairs or groups of three according to their interest in a common topic. In researching the stories, they were required to interview community residents as well as agency spokespeople or official sources, and to get the viewpoints of people most directly affected by the conditions they were investigating. Although they were not required to do so, some of the students

also put in volunteer time at community agencies, both to help and to get a closer view of the people and situations they were writing about.

Typically, after only one or two visits to community sites, some of the students began to recognize the extent of their own privilege and the sheltered nature of their own lives. A student who wanted to write about teen drug use visited a court-mandated youth rehabilitation center and came away distressed about what she had learned:

> Speaking with two young boys from the center was a real wake-up call to my sheltered life. I knew drugs were out there, but I didn't realize they were reaching children so young. And some of the kids' stories were simply upsetting. Violence and drug abuse plague the lives of so many children. They don't have a fair chance at life.

Another student interviewed a homeless man several times, and began to see him with empathy as he wrote about the man's search for shelter and security. "I used to have this opinion of the welfare issue: 'I don't want to work to support them. If I can get a job, so can they.' Now I realize there are a lot of different reasons why people end up in that situation," he wrote.

The sudden recognition of deep class differences took some of the students by surprise. For example, one student investigated the gentrification of the formerly working-class neighborhood in which he grew up. He resentfully compared the gleaming marble edifices of new banks and investment firms to the severely disadvantaged neighborhoods a few blocks away that were being ignored by city officials.

> There have been new brick sidewalks, new lighting, new pavement and aid to store owners to fix their facades on the front of their stores. I don't understand how so much can be given to one area without taking care of the town as a whole. The other side of town has drug problems, gang problems, homelessness. This summer two bodies were found there and the whole thing was forgotten about in a few days.

Several other undergraduates had become involved with a chapter of Habitat for Humanity, volunteering their time on weekends while writing news stories about a family that was just moving in to a newly built Habitat home. One student could not help but compare her own life experiences to those of the low-income woman and her children:

> Eventually someday I will be able to have a family and hopefully give my family even more advantages than I had. Joan has not been able to do that for her children. My siblings and I have never wanted for a single thing, but Joan's children have. I never wanted for clothes, food, wonderful schools, a great town, and a large yard that was ours. Joan's kids had none of that, plus a mother who worked a full time job. I couldn't imagine being a house cleaner for my entire life. Meeting Joan has made me feel extremely grateful for the things and people in my life.

A different student volunteered at soup kitchen in her community while investigating the topic of hunger, and was dumbfounded to see that so many people came to receive the free meal, and that so many were young children. "There are up to 100 people every Saturday and it is less than a mile from where I live," she wrote. "I wouldn't have gotten this reality check if I wasn't taking this course."

As the course brought them into contact with people of different racial and economic backgrounds, some students found themselves struggling with

their own assumptions, and the emotions of fear, suspicion, and guilt. Upon reflection, several recognized that they felt race or class prejudice, and others discovered feelings of superiority or condescension they found embarrassing when examined.

In one case, a team of students visited a shelter for battered women to write about the problem of domestic violence. Waiting to conduct an interview with the director, they looked around them suspiciously. One student observed later in her journal:

> It felt weird being there because the waiting area was quite small and it was so quiet. As we were waiting, some clients/patients (I'm not sure what to call them) came in and out. One couple walked in, and I automatically labeled the gentleman as an "abuser." Just because we were in an abuse clinic, I assumed he beat her.

One member of a team of students investigating AIDS education recognized his own homophobia when his group went to interview a health activist working out of a gay bar.

> I felt myself get very frightened of the people that we could possibly run into. But then I was thinking, "Who am I scared of?" The people that we were looking for are people just like you and me except they live a different lifestyle. The trip showed me that people are people no matter what their lifestyle.

A visit to a barber shop owned by an African American entrepreneur made a White student realize that she had been judging Black residents negatively. "I do not consider myself a prejudiced person, but from talking with Amir (the shop owner), I discovered I am somewhat ignorant to certain situations," she wrote. "Things and people are put into a different light when you actually talk to

someone about the cause of the problem, rather than simply judging what you see on the surface."

Another student discovered that being a volunteer did not necessarily earn him the gratitude of the people he wanted to help. Expecting to be welcomed and praised for his community service at Habitat for Humanity, the student found that no one working at the site was particularly interested in him or thankful for his interest:

> It was not anything like I thought it was going to be. By me offering my time to help build a house for the homeless, I figured I would be treated like royalty while working there. But every person who I introduced myself to, didn't really seem to care that I was there . . . I did not feel like I was contributing at all. I have nothing against the people who are working there. I'm not saying they should have gotten down on their knees and thanked me for showing up. But the volunteers there did not really care that I and the rest of my group was there.

Finally, some students found their own sudden feelings of compassion suspect. "After constantly thinking to myself how sorry I felt, I realized that I am just like everyone else," one wrote. "I had always considered myself compassionate and caring . . . but I do not act on these feelings. I say I feel sorry for people, but then I forget about them, and go on about my day. This was kind of an unpleasant realization."

In both Civic Journalism classes, students worked individually and in small teams. At the end of the semester, each class invited the people they had interviewed for their stories to a class symposium held on campus. Perhaps a dozen visitors -- almost all of them representatives of human service agencies --

attended each of these meetings. However, community residents, especially minority citizens and those of low income, were conspicuously absent at both events. When the students discussed the symposium afterwards in class, they did not find this absence disturbing; indeed, the main sentiment they expressed was that of relief.

Discussion

Jeffrey Howard (1993) advises service-learning educators to be prepared for uncertainty and variation in student learning outcomes (p. 9), and the data examined here support his view. As the students in the civic journalism class encountered people from different walks of life, they expressed a wide variety of reactions to these meetings, from empathy to suspicion to judgment. In writing weekly journals, they had many unstructured opportunities to examine their own attitudes toward community residents of different backgrounds, and these attitudes ranged from relatively accepting to strongly negative. While some of the students' first perceptions were born of ignorance, fear or a misplaced sense of superiority, the underlying institutional context bears a closer look as well.

As some students remarked, the university was a silent partner in their experiences. The implicit distinctions of exclusivity acted out at the institutional level by the university shaped students' expectations of the surrounding communities. The students are almost encouraged to see their private university, with its high tuition and manicured greenery, as an exclusive country club, open

only to those dwelling at society's more successful levels. It is not surprising, then, that they could also see the neighboring towns, with their depressed urban downtown districts and their troubled schools, as an underclass No Man's land, peopled by residents with nothing to offer them and no common experiences they could share.

At the same time, some of the expressed a dawning recognition of elementary social injustice. While their experiences raised thorny questions about fairness and responsibility, some of the young women and men were open to exploring the structural inequalities that produce and maintain these circumstances. With the support of the university and additional experiences of community involvement, these students might have been ready to assume the role of engaged and responsible citizens.

Unfortunately, we made it easy for these undergraduates to walk away from their uncomfortable awakenings without looking back. There are institutional reasons that our students never encounter community residents until they leave our campus. The same university that offers our students introductory experiences at local service agencies does its best to remain a separate entity from the same communities and organizations on most occasions. Cultural events held at the university are costly and culturally exclusive. They ignore the diverse Latino, Asian, and Afro-Caribbean cultures in the surrounding communities. Meeting rooms and athletic facilities are rented out to private groups at substantial fees, not loaned to nonprofit organizations. Even service-

learning classes are often framed as "real world" boot camp for elite students, focusing more on satisfying students' curiosity than on preparing them to perform real service to others. Our students cannot help but see, and learn from, the ways their university interacts with local communities.

After reading the journal data described here, I made a number of changes in the design of my Civic Journalism class. When the class is offered again, students will do preparatory readings about issues of community building, racial discrimination and social class before they set out to do any field work. Readings, tours, and other forms of orientation can encourage students to think about social responsibility before they encounter people of different races and socioeconomic backgrounds in a service setting.

Jeffrey Howard (1993) notes that a sense of community is best cultivated by learning formats that encourage communal rather than individual learning experiences. Communal learning exercises can create a class community and model the practices of a good community within the class group. Therefore, service projects will be performed by the entire class and the professor. The class will visit neighboring communities and meet some of the people whom they will later seek out individually as journalistic sources. More structured group initiatives will offer civic journalism students a respectful model of community interaction from the very beginning and provide them with opportunities to engage with residents more deeply, in a supervised environment less vulnerable to their own anxieties.

These recommendations can immediately improve students' understanding of their preliminary experiences of difference with community residents. But an even more important challenge lies in transforming the university' relationship with its neighbors. Instead of preserving its detached elitism, the university must reach out to local communities. It must make its cultural events and spaces more accessible. It must prepare its students for meaningful and respectful service. It must encourage faculty to conduct teaching and research that benefits local concerns.

If we are asking our students to become engaged citizens, we must also be willing to engage. By working actively to forge mutually respectful institutional relationships with our community neighbors, faculty and administrators can help our students understand their service-learning experiences better and commit themselves to genuine community service.

Conclusion

Some undergraduates come to service-learning classes in need of a reality check. Our students' voices tell us that these classes can be powerful tools for sensitizing white middle-class students to the realities of social inequality in America. But the communities they serve should not be seen as some kind of "real world" boot camp for elite students. We must work to help our students harness their preliminary insights about race and class into meaningful lessons

about society and responsibility that actually make them fit to serve. To do this, we have several important tasks to accomplish.

First, we have to nurture in our students a fully formed, mature appreciation for community involvement and service. Harkavy & Puckett (1994), Stanton (1990), and others assert that service-learning instruction should support a commitment to challenge social injustice. To nurture this commitment, communication educators must support students' early explorations with a more fully developed base of community-building pedagogy. A one-semester class may offer an introduction to the service-learning approach, but it must be augmented by a curriculum that applies service-learning at many junctures of an undergraduate's college experience.

Second, we must create relationships with our neighboring communities that are respectful, ethical and built on mutual interests rather than domination. Tasha Souza (1999) asks educators to consider the ethical dimensions of students' brief visits to communities. Do we have a right to send students out, unsupervised and undirected, to be mere tourists in the community? Instead, the university must develop ongoing, non-exploitive institutional affiliations with its neighboring communities, providing students with an important model of social relations to follow.

Although the classes discussed here were taught at one university, the insights they offer us may be applicable to many other classes or programs. Building a partnership that connects universities and communities requires

substantial institutional effort as well as individual commitment. Turning our students into citizens instead of tourists means transforming our institutions along the way.

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